January 1957

Fellowship

Andover Newton Theological School
NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

SMILEY AND FRIENDS — *Montgomery rides again*

30¢

What Is the FOR?

by A. J. Muste

contents

76657 1957

- **The World in Focus** 1
- **Foreign Policy and the Law of Charity**—James L. Vizzard, S.J. ... 5
  A thoughtful Jesuit insists that although charity does begin at home, it is not complete until it reaches all who are in need.
- **What Is the FOR?**—A. J. Muste 7
  A long-time pacifist leader speaks his mind on the problems of survival of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and sketches its role for the future.
- **Turning Enemies Into Friends**—John Nevin Sayre 14
  The International FOR has given valuable service in affirming brotherhood across world frontiers and hopes to enlarge its work for tomorrow.

News ..... 17 **Films** 28

In the Churches ..... 22 **Letters** 30

Books 23

COVER PHOTO—FOR Field Secretary Glenn Smiley (r.) shares seat with M. L. King, Jr., in first nonsegregated bus ride in Montgomery, Alabama. At left, Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the leaders with Dr. King in the Montgomery Improvement Assn. For background, see News, p. 18. (Photo: Wide World)

FELLOWSHIP

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor — WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Asst. Editor

Editorial Contributors

Vera Brittain, Marguerite Harmon Bro, Allan Knight Chalmers, Bernard C. Clausen, Sarah N. Cleghorn, Florence Converse, Henry H. Crane, Albert Edward Day, Eugene Exman, Caleb Foote, Albert Fowler, Richard B. Gregg, Wallace Hamilton, John Haynes Holmes, Allan A. Hunter, Josephine W. Johnson, Muriel Lester, Halford E. Luccock, Milton Mayer, Alfred D. Moore, Ferner Nuhn, Kirby Page, Edith Lovejoy Pierce, Douglas V. Steere, John M. Swomley, Jr., Howard Thurman

Member, Associated Church Press

FELLOWSHIP *is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.*

Fellowship Published by the **Fellowship of Reconciliation**

21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y. (after Jan. 18: Nyack, N. Y.)

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., Secretary — A. J. MUSTE, Secretary-Emeritus — GLENN E. SMILEY, Field Secretary

30 Cents a Copy
$3 a Year

Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS
VOLUME 23, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1957

The Change Goes Deep

Elsewhere in this issue A. J. Muste, assessing the present fortunes of the Fellowship, speaks of pacifist individuals and organizations as "marking time." In a very real sense the whole world is marking time these days, noting uneasily the inadequacy of old formulae, commenting uncertainly on phenomena of monstrous dimensions, shifting its eyes from the wall on which is writ large the word that the change goes deep, deeper than most people yet realize.

The change involves more than war, but it is inseparable from war. Few even among those who have devoted their lives to the passionate attempt to do away with war have realized how pervasive is its influence, how insidious a part of our culture it is, so that pulled out like a strand it leaves the entire fabric unraveled.

War has become unthinkable, and the whole fabric of our thinking becomes unraveled at the realization. Our world has been built on war. Our economics, our politics, our social systems rest on the comfortable if unspoken assumption that if they are challenged beyond the ability of reason and negotiation to solve, war will be there to preserve them.

Now, even while the Mediterranean clogs with warships and Russian tanks profane the good earth of Hungary, war is no longer there. It is unthinkable because it no longer can have purpose or meaning beyond the total defeat and destruction of all the participants. It will be a while before all men will stand still

long enough to read the words on the wall, but read them they will. When they do, they will read also that the change goes deep: that nothing short of genuine brotherhood based on love will be enough to preserve us now that war is gone.

Bound Together

A group of distinguished scientists and philosophers, including such persons as Niels Bohr, Jacques Maritain, J. Robert Oppenheimer and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan serve as a board of editors for a series of books published under the general head of World Perspectives. Most recent of these is *The Art of Loving,* by Erich Fromm (which will be reviewed in a later issue). In a preface by Ruth Nanda Anshen, editor of the series, are more inklings of how deep the changes are running, how profound the thinking must be:

> "An important effort of this Series is to re-examine the contradictory meanings and applications which are given today to such terms as democracy, freedom, justice, love, peace, brotherhood and God. The purpose of such inquiries is to clear the way for the foundation of a genuine world history not in terms of nation or race or culture but in terms of man in relation to God, to himself, his fellow man and the universe that reach beyond immediate self-interest. For hopes and dreams which lead to a deeper understanding of the basic values of all peoples.
>
> "Today in the East and in the West men are discovering that they are bound together, beyond any divisiveness, by a more fundamental unity than any mere agreement in thought and doctrine. They are beginning to know that all men possess the same primordial desires and tendencies; that the domination of man over man can no longer be justified by any appeal to God or nature; and such consciousness is the fruit of the spiritual and moral revolution, the great seismic upheaval, through which humanity is now passing.
>
> "This generation is discovering that history does not conform to the social optimism of modern civilization and that the organization of human communities and the establishment of justice, freedom and peace are not only intellectual achievements but spiritual and moral achievements as well, demanding a cherishing of the wholeness of human personality and constituting a never-ending challenge to man, emerging from the abyss of meaninglessness and suffering, to be renewed and replenished in the totality of his life."

Coming Apart

From another angle, a fascinating aspect of this re-thinking is the convulsion going on within the Communist parties, here and abroad. Men who have observed the Communist twistings and turnings for years, watching how the American party tail wagged

when the Moscow mouth barked, rub their eyes these days.

U.S. Communists followed the "de-Stalinization" lead of the twentieth congress of the CPSU, as was to be expected, but now they show signs of going far beyond. *The Daily Worker,* once an uninspired echo of *Pravda,* now expresses harsh criticism of the Soviet intervention in Hungary. Party leadership is challenged vigorously by men who talk of the right of free speech and the preeminent importance of the human personality.

There is a stirring in the whole Left as ancient dogma cracks and new questions are asked. The answers may be long in coming, but the process has begun, and it is not likely to be reversed.

Erosion

Keeping their eyes loyally off the words written on the wall, up to this point, are the neo-orthodoxists. They see problems, all right, but the problems have two dimensions, and the comments on them sound stale and uninspired.

Thus John C. Bennett, writing in *Christianity and Crisis* on "Conscience and the H-Bomb," observes, as did *Life* a decade ago, that the only final protection against H-bomb warfare is the human conscience, or, as he terms it, "the moral inhibitions of men and women against the wanton destruction of their neighbors." Although these "moral inhibitions must be supported by balances of power within structures of collective security," he writes, still "the greatest threat to the human future would be the erosion of conscience."

And whence comes the danger of such an erosion?

> "There is a danger of erosion of conscience, if we live long with the idea that our own nation is willing to consider the moral possibility of using the H-bomb first, of its preventive use against the great centers of population in another nation."

Note that word *"first."* The danger of an eroded conscience doesn't come from accepting the possibility of using the H-bomb against cities teeming with our brothers. It does not grow out of hardening ourselves to the possibility that we may, in the name of "defense," poison the atmosphere so that hundreds of millions in combatant and noncombatant nations alike perish. It is not even occasioned by the realization that to preserve our own

precious lives we are willing to jeopardize the lives of future generations. Only if we are prepared to do these things *first* is there a danger of losing our sensitivity to the sacredness of human personality—if *"they"* start it, of course, we have nothing to worry about!

It is not a word one would expect from a prophet of the Christian faith. It is not a word that will encourage or inspire. Men who are not trained in the dexterities of this kind of thinking, but have only their common sense to rely upon, will sense the sterility of the argument. To use a weapon like the H-bomb, which necessarily is indiscriminate in its destruction, is either right or wrong. It cannot be wrong at nine o'clock and right three minutes later. If it were right at 9:03 to retaliate, it would be right at 9 to prevent. If it is wrong at 9, it remains wrong forever.

Civil—uh—Defense

There was an explosion on the Brooklyn waterfront last month. It was a bad one—ten people were killed and 251 injured—but it was only an explosion on a steamship pier. Let the New York *Post* take over:

> The Brooklyn waterfront disaster exposed the lack of realism in Civil Defense plans for mass evacuation of the city in the event of nuclear attack.
>
> After fighting his way to the scene through a jungle of traffic, Deputy Hospitals Commissioner Morris Jacobs, himself a CD director, said the jammed streets proved that such evacuation was "impossible."
>
> The City CD director, Maj. Gen. Robert E. Condon, also was bogged down in traffic and seriously delayed on his way to the fire.
>
> At least one CD emergency car never reached the scene. Its driver, in desperation, abandoned the car about eight blocks away and continued on foot.
>
> Some ambulances were unable to reach the burning pier because of the traffic bottleneck. Many injured had to be removed to hospitals in private cars.
>
> From time to time during the afternoon and evening, traffic within a five-mile radius of the fire was tied up in near-chaos.
>
> Dr. Jacobs was trapped in an almost unmoving skein of traffic when he tried to rush in his official car from his Manhattan office to the scene of the blast. . . .
>
> The hopelessness of a mass exodus became apparent almost immediately after Jacobs left his office.
>
> Once across the Brooklyn Bridge, he was snarled in traffic on the Gowanus Pkwy., far from the fire. He could move only an inch at a time despite the official insignia on his car.

FOREIGN POLICY *and the law of* CHARITY

BY JAMES L. VIZZARD, S. J.

IN THIS NATION founded by men who spelled out clearly the moral basis of our political society, it is strange and discouraging to have to insist that our national interest is a much broader concept and reality than mere military security, political stability or economic advantage. Unless this nation has interests and responsibilities which are rooted in moral principles, how do we differ from the arbitrary "legality" of totalitarian states? Unless "national" interest is based upon moral interest, our objectives can claim no superiority over those of the Communist nations. If our foreign economic policy fails to recognize that the very fact of our abundance creates opportunities and obligations which far transcend any narrowly conceived selfish and temporary interest, then we deserve to be weighed and judged by the world and by God in the same balance as Russia.

In public debate and private discussion a great variety of reasons are given to justify programs of international aid: we have smothering farm surpluses; our expanding industrial economy demands overseas markets and raw materials; we need to win friends and bolster our national security; if *we* don't the Communists will.

But the moral reasons for these programs, if they are mentioned at all, are brought in only parenthetically, or with embarrassed apology. Patronizing "realists" clearly imply that charity and justice have no pertinence to the issues, that they represent only the sentimental idealism of international "do-gooders."

Yet, in fact, love of neighbor

Reprinted from *World Alliance Newsletter*, June 1956.

and justice not only have validity, even in terms of national interest, but are motives for programs of aid which are more urgent, more far-reaching, and of far greater value than any other motives. Moreover, these motives, if properly explained, could win much more sincere and practical approval here and abroad. Finally, programs undertaken for these motives are more likely to achieve, as by-products, the aims of our foreign policy.

Charity and Love

It is likewise strange to hear the uncompromising air of finality with which opponents of foreign aid remark, "These give-aways have to stop. Charity begins at home." For them, there ends the argument. It is difficult to understand why, for all the statement claims is that charity *begins* at home. It doesn't *end* there. It is not completed and perfected until it reaches out to the farthest ends of the earth to all who are in need.

The law of love, the law of charity in all great religions is stated tersely by Christ, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." And lest we wonder who is our neighbor, He told the parable of the Good Samaritan. The lesson of that story is that every man is our neighbor.

Moreover, to communicate to us the importance and the practical nature of such love of neighbor, He went further and spelled out a graphic account of the Judgment: "I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink . . . naked and you covered me. . . . Amen I say to you, as long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me" (MATTHEW 25:35-40). It is on this basis that at the end of time we as individuals will be judged. We have no reason to believe that nations will be judged differently—perhaps sooner than we think.

But the objection has often been raised that Charity is the responsibility of the individual. Such an attitude ignores the fact that the state comes into being to fulfill for us collectively what we cannot do alone. In our vast world, we cannot reach all who need and have a claim on our charity and thus the state acts as our agent. When it gives, it is ourselves giving.

But charity is not fulfilled by mere giving. Emergency will dictate that food and other necessities be distributed quickly and freely. But continued alms tend to destroy the basic self-respect and initiative of the recipients. And by a strange and universal quirk of human nature, the donors come to be hated.

Every effort, therefore, must be made to develop methods and programs which also fulfill the needs of the human spirit. When food, clothing and other necessities are distributed, the beneficiaries should be required to do some work for themselves or their community. To plan such works, to carry them out, to reward willing cooperators, may seem burdensome, but it would certainly increase the recipient's self-respect and aid in developing self-help and improvement.

This idea is not new. It has been successfully carried out. Government and private agencies could develop these methods. We feel sure that Congress, the U.S. people and the peoples of the recipient nations would not object to such practical and fruitful charity.

What is the FOR?

BY A. J. MUSTE

RECENTLY I was asked to speak on this subject in Boston, before a conference of the New England Region. I recalled that, early last year, it was exactly forty years since in Boston I made my first contact with the Fellowship, which had been founded in England at the close of 1914 and in this country a year later. Almost at the moment of my first contact I joined the Fellowship, and have been in more or less trouble ever since—by no means all of it, however, because of the Fellowship!

The fact that it was more than four decades ago, in the midst of World War I, that the FOR was founded, itself tells something about the organization. The mortality rate is notoriously high among such groups. Forty years is a long time, politically and spiritually, when this involves two World Wars; the Russian and Chinese revolutions; the rapid disintegration of Western colonialism; the fission of the atom; the rise and fall of Hitler; Hiroshima; the H-bomb; the Intercontinental Ballistics Missile; the revolutionary upsurge in the underdeveloped countries and the de-sanctification of Stalin.

When people are inclined to pooh-pooh the FOR, we are probably warranted in suggesting that mere survival under these circumstances is an achievement and may imply something about the Fellowship's present and future vitality.

As is bound to be the case with a human association which has been in existence for some time, it is not possible to tell what it is in a precise one-paragraph formula. The Fellowship is not and

does not claim to be a church, though it has close relations especially with Protestant Christendom, and to some of its members it is their "church." On the other hand, the Fellowship is not a "cause" organization in the sense in which a Child Labor Association, a Suffrage League, a League of Women Voters, a World Federalist movement or the NAACP is an organization with a clearly defined program. It is and always has been in an important degree a religious fellowship.

Hard to Pin Down

Now a fellowship which is not a church and not an organization with a specific program is something miscellaneous, not easy to pin down. This characteristic has been a source of limitation as well as strength. The FOR has always been able to encompass a fairly wide variety of people and to them the Fellowship has meant something, in many cases much. But a considerable number have also been irked because it was difficult to put one's finger on it and say: "This is what the Fellowship is, this is what it is doing."

People have been disappointed who wanted it to be more of a church, more like an association of prayer groups, more concentrated on world government or disarmament plans, more of a tax refusal committee, more of a Christian or Gandhian nonviolent revolutionary movement, more devoted to building intentional communities.

Because of this defect, as they regarded it, some have left the Fellowship. In some cases this represents a serious loss because they were deeply committed people. There is a fairly steady tendency for one kind of committed pacifist to go into some community like the Bruderhof because he is unable to find deep satisfaction otherwise. There is a similar tendency for the more activist, "revolutionary" spirits to migrate into some other group. The bulk of the membership has never been disposed to transform the Fellowship as such into the image of either of these tendencies.

On the other hand, the Fellowship has always wished to retain a wide variety of members and to "encourage" them to follow their "concerns." And it has won and retained an impressively large number of people, considering the kind of organization it is. For many of them, some other body—their church, in very many cases—has had their first loyalty. Yet the Fellowship here and around the world, they have also found valuable, even precious.

Paradoxically, this somewhat miscellaneous, diffuse Fellowship, either as an organization or through its members and staff acting on its principles, has had its finger in many practical pies. It was instrumental in founding the American Civil Liberties Union four decades ago and recently has made notable contributions in the struggle against the Smith Act and other such invasions of civil liberty. Years ago it pioneered in race relations, refusing to hold segregated meetings in the South; later it brought CORE into being; staff people like Glenn Smiley and Robert Cannon and individual members are at the moment doing notable work in the South. It made substantial contributions to the struggle against conscription in World War I and after, and again

in World War II and succeeding years. It pioneered in making civil disobedience to the draft, war taxes and loyalty oaths a recognized part of pacifist witness, though not to be imposed on all. It contributed to the development of policy in the peace movement on the "united front" question, to the founding of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, and so on.

The FOR constituency is widely regarded as a likely source for financial contributions to many good causes. Its members have with few exceptions heeded Walter Muelder's warning against being "one-cause fanatics." But they have also with few exceptions been what might be called "many-cause fanatics." The FOR member in a community is likely to be involved in church, civil liberties, interracial, intercultural and other activities.

The Christian and War

It is time to change the focus and say something about points at which FOR *can* be pinned down, points of concentration and commitment.

The Fellowship has consistently dealt with the question of violence, and specifically war, in a Christian context. When I speak of the FOR as Christian, this, as we have already been reminded, does not mean that it is a church or an official order within a church. Membership does not involve subscription to this or that creed. One does not have to have any denominational affiliation to belong, though most members do. We do not stand for any sort of Christian ecclesiastical imperialism toward other religions, knowing that Christian churches also stand under the judgment of Christ.

It is a fact, however, that the FOR is a religious association standing within and upon the Christian tradition. Its basis and spiritual source is that revelation of, or insight into, the nature of God, of ultimate reality, which is mediated through the Scriptures, through Christ, through the Spirit of Christ.

The Fellowship has persistently testified that in this context war has no place, that participation in war cannot be reconciled with the teaching, example, and spirit of Christ. This testimony did not originate with us, of course. Since the earliest days, there have always been individuals and groups who held it. The Fellowship has furthermore insisted—sometimes to the discomfort of fellow Christians—that the individual who professes to be a Christian is obligated to make a personal decision in this matter. He, personally, must "choose between Christ and Caesar." He cannot accept as automatically binding upon him the judgment of state, society, church or other persons.

Nonpacifist Christians have dealt with these contentions in two ways. For a long time they held that to take part in war was actually Christian. War nourished Christian virtues. Even the text, "Greater love hath no man . . . than to lay down his life" was regularly invoked. The other type of argument was that while the non-resistant or pacifist position may be the Christian ideal, it is not practical. War, some wars, are necessary and achieve positive good.

At both these points the argument against pacifism, whether Christian or of another variety, has virtually collapsed. There is

no longer a serious effort to demonstrate that we need war to cultivate virtue. "Peace" is the word that tugs at people's heartstrings these days, and nobody seriously suggests that this implies moral degeneration or cowardice. As for policy or social calculation, it is all but universally admitted that war cannot be the policy of a nation in its right mind. "There is no alternative to peace."

Under these circumstances one might suppose that there would be a great influx into the Fellowship or other pacifist bodies, or that new ones would be springing up if the older ones did not fit the need of today. Yet this is not the case. The Christian pacifist, and pacifist forces generally, are marking time. The movement, like a number of others in today's world, is in a stalemate.

Nature of Modern War

There are, I suggest, a number of factors which have a bearing on this development. For one thing, war having become wholly irrational and so total a threat, the focus of attention has shifted from the question, "If war comes to pass, what shall be my attitude?" to the question, "How can we eliminate war?" For if and when total war comes, what is the meaning of my personal attitude toward participation in it?—we shall all be incinerated anyway. A variant of this approach is the feeling that the H-bomb threat has removed the danger of war and thereby the difficult moral problem of participation or non-participation.

A second factor is the growing centralization, mechanization and complexity of modern life which tend to dwarf the individual, to deprive him of the power to make decisions, to cause such decisions as he may make to appear irrelevant.

A third factor is the emphasis on external achievement, the outward order, social structures, rather than on the cultivation of the inner life. The tendency to equate "standard of living" with material goods here plays a part. The fact that the gap between a bare subsistence and the accustomed standard of living for most people in this country is much greater than it was in the 1930s or any time before that in this century, probably makes a good many more people hesitate about having to make that rather steep descent. This affects the personnel and budget problems of the FOR and other organizations.

The Role of Nonconformity

These things constitute an obstacle which the Fellowship must surmount if it is to continue to win loyalty. The obstacle can only be surmounted by effectively reaffirming our emphasis on the role of dissent and, in particular, conscientious objection to war.

First a word about nonconformity in general. No one seriously denies that the trend is toward conformity. For those who are already conditioned to it, who conceive of no other life, there is no moral problem. Recent developments in Communist lands, most of all in Hungary and Poland, seem to indicate that the number of human beings who can be conditioned to complete conformism, at least by the method of direct terror, is fortunately smaller than some had thought.

In any event—and I am addressing myself now to youth and in

particular to Christian youth—for those who are not yet so conditioned, the moral problem remains. If you, my reader, conform, you compound the evil which nevertheless troubles you and whose ultimate development the western world dreads. You cheapen the coin of nonconformity and of the sovereignty of the human spirit.

If there is any way of stemming the tide of regimentation, medi-

ocrity, dehumanization, it is *not* by going along with it. This the recent history of our own country has taught, though not, fortunately, by such bitter experience as Germans, Italians, Japanese and Russians have had to absorb. Think of your fellow intellectuals in Russia or the "fellow travelers" in other countries who "went along," kept quiet, played it safe, or worked out rationalizations in relation to Stalinism and its violations of the human spirit and the law of God. Think of them as they now face the confession by Stalin's own associates as to what it all meant. Do you, under circumstances which involve so much less risk, want to play essentially the same role of conformism and submission? Many in our colleges, churches and communities are playing such a role. "Holy disobedience" needs to be restored to its rightful place in such a time.

I have even heard it said that in an age of total war there cannot be such a thing as a martyr; you will just be flattened out and obliterated. This surely justifies asking a few questions. For example, have you never known an obscure martyr, even among ordinary people, who took it on the chin and got satisfaction simply out of being "true to his own inexorable self"? Were there no such martyrs in Germany under Hitler, and did they not have "their reward," though having no discernible influence on events? What is true martyrdom in any case, except throwing oneself away? You Christian youths in particular, are you not aware that God is not one with whom a man can play the con game?—"I will give up everything, dear Lord, provided I am guaranteed in advance that I shall not really have to give up anything." In the end, there is no escaping the law that he who would save his life—even for "social usefulness"—shall lose it.

This leads naturally to the next point which has to do with the specific moral issue of participation in war. Suppose it is true that war is now bereft of all reason and every shred of morality; that it is pervasive, that our economy is a war economy and so on; that there is no present observable result from taking the stance of nonparticipation in a madness become universal, with atrocity exceeding all bounds. Does all this remove from the individual Christian the burden—or is it holy privilege?—of making a moral judgment as to his participation?

As for the idea that "H-bomb terror" will deliver us from war at last, surely no rational being thinks that it will do so automatically, apart from human action.

Moreover, the *moral* question remains as to whether one shall take part in the promotion of this precarious and morally dubious "deterrent"—if it be indeed a deterrent at all.

Suppose there is no longer an earthly judgment seat, will Christian youth or elders say there is no such thing as standing before the judgment seat of God? Suppose there is no calculation which will tell the Christian now what will "bring the best results," is the Christian ethic ultimately a calculative ethic? Is it not basically an *obedience* ethic?

The Elite As Killers

Has moral sensitivity no role—to speak for a moment in more general terms—provided an evil becomes sufficiently widespread and outrageous? It happens, of course, that if atrocities become sufficiently numerous and atrocious the moral nerves are deadened. And as Georges Bernanos and others have reminded us, the mechanical, "automative" character of modern war contributes to the result: "Out of the upper air, any-

one can liquidate thousands of little children in twenty minutes with the greatest possible ease and comfort." He will have "seen nothing, heard nothing, touched nothing." He will feel himself and probably be thought by others to be "one of the world's elite"!

But surely the Fellowship's witness that you cannot call this Christian, that you cannot reconcile voluntary participation in this with the teaching and example of the Master, is, if anything, more true and more relevant than forty years ago. Its challenge must be carried to youth. It is at the peril of their souls and of the survival of a free society, that they ignore it.

The Fellowship and the Church

One more comment. As we have been saying, the Fellowship from the beginning has had a sense of mission in relation to the problem of Christ and War, which concerns the individual, regardless of what anyone else does. It has never tolerated the idea that you should appeal to Christians to pledge not to participate in war if or when this becomes the position of the respective churches to which they belong. Equally, however, the Fellowship has had, in relation to this problem, a sense of mission to the Church and the churches. Long before it became a slogan of the ecumenical movement, the Fellowship here and in other lands was in effect saying: "Let the Church be the Church." And to be a true church of Christ means to be a fellowship of those who repent and strive to reconcile and who therefore cannot bear the sword.

This is not an issue in the realm of social action but in the realm of faith and obedience. Take the race situation today. Most of the discussions take off from the Supreme Court decision in favor of integrated public schools: shall the Church support the decision or not? But this is a peripheral question for the Church as church. For it the central issue is that a segregated church simply is not a church of Christ. Suppose that all

over the South, and for that matter elsewhere in the country, there were churches which were indeed fellowships of the redeemed in Christ, in which there was neither white nor black. They would not need to be "social actionist" to have a tremendous political impact.

Challenge to the Church

Similarly, in the matter of war the churches by and large follow the prevailing culture and mores. If instead they had been Christian churches and devoted to the Church's business, there would have been no Iron Curtain for them, no dropping bombs on each other at the behest of earthly governments. Their youth would have had no time or inclination to learn the art of soldiering, because they would have been preaching the gospel of love and doing the works of love all over the world.

Here again, in view of the character of modern war, the Church's failure to face the question of war in the light of its own nature and mission drives it ever deeper into contradiction and deprives the world of the leadership—the "salt" and "leaven"—which it needs. The Calhoun Commission of theologians declared after World War II that the Church and its members should repent not only of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki but of the preceding obliteration bombing of Germany and Japan. These acts were sins against God and against these peoples because their minds were occupied with political problems, not with the nature of the Church. Yet this did not lead the nonpacifist members of that Commission to conclude that in future the Church should have nothing to do with atomic weapons or war. Later, the Dun Commission said Christians might have to approve atomic bombing, though not on Christian grounds, admittedly with the serious risk that again such bombing would be "without restraint" and therefore would call for repentance again, after the event. To this day the churches have not clearly and unequivocally separated themselves from H-bomb warfare. The prophetic cries are more likely to come from secular publicists or from politicians than from leading churchmen.

Thus we move toward the day when there will be everything to repent of, since man will have destroyed himself and perhaps the garden in which God placed him, and there will be nobody left to repent, when all the time the churches which name Christ's name should have been nothing but fellowships of repenting and reconciling men.

It remains surely the mission of the Fellowship in all lands to present this challenge to the churches. Whether we can learn how to do it more unequivocally, more winsomely, more humbly than ever is perhaps the most important problem confronting the FOR in this country today.

TURNING ENEMIES INTO FRIENDS

BY JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

THE International FOR is the common missionary arm of FOR groups in 25 nations. Its basic method of operation is to send its apostles of reconciliation to as many lands as possible. Like St. Paul, they must attempt to establish colonies of the faith which will grow and spread on their own initiative after the missionary has moved on. It is a task of conversion plus consolidation. IFOR must service the infant cells and enlarging groups with winsome apostles and basic literature—explaining nonviolence and the reconciliation of human conflict as central in the Gospel of Jesus and as the greatest of all arts—"the art and practice of turning enemies into friends."

Muriel Lester has made eight round-the-world tours for IFOR. André Trocmé and his wife, Magda; Hildegard Mayr; and Ernest Best, the new IFOR General Secretary, are full-time servants going out to spread the full pacifist Gospel. Ernest Best moved from bombed Nagasaki to London last September to captain the IFOR team. In recent years we have financed three tours of apostles to South Africa, three to South America, and two to Japan, besides Muriel Lester's visits.

International Conferences are another important means of growth and solidarity. A six-day general conference on *The Christian and Coexistence*, held in Switzerland in the summer of 1955, was attended by 230 persons from 21 nations. Among the top speakers, FOR members were Canon Raven, Martin Niemoeller, F. Siegmund-Schultze, André Trocmé, Henri Roser, Hannes de Graaf, G. H. C. Macgregor and A. J. Muste. Several smaller conferences are held every year, made up of people from neighboring countries that have been in conflict with each other. Also youth conferences.

Nonmilitary alternative service in conscript countries is an objective calling for persistent effort.

When, for example, the Fellowship began it in France, conscientious objection was unheard of and its punishment could be exile to prison on Devil's Island. Even today French law holds over the heads of young objectors to military service the threat of imprisonment for 30 years.

Nations which have won through to alternative non-military service for their war resisters should be concerned to break the stranglehold of totalitarian conscription in more militarized countries. Not only large parts of Europe but almost all of Asia and South America have adopted this military blight introduced into Europe by Napoleon. All democracies and the Christian Church have a vital interest in opposing conscription everywhere. To adopt an isolationist attitude toward it is to court disaster for themselves. Apparently they can be aroused only by the suffering of heroic individuals and minorities through whom God speaks. It is the task of the IFOR to impart fellowship and inspiration to these individuals and groups, to work for changes in conscription laws and for the abolition of conscription.

The Protestant denominations, the state churches, the missionary and ecumenical movements need to rethink the Gospel of Christ and the pacifist practice of the first three hundred years of Christianity especially in their implications for the hydrogen age. The churches have begun to do so, but the danger is that their contribution will be too little and too late. In Europe, the Historic Peace Churches and the IFOR collaborated to produce the pamphlet, *Peace is the Will of God,* setting forth their understanding of the Biblical and theological basis of pacifism. It was sent to all the delegates of the Evanston Conference and widely distributed. A theological conference was held at Prideaux, Switzerland, where for the first time representative theologians of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the Continent met with representatives of the Historic Peace Churches and IFOR to discuss Christian theology. A body was set up for continued theological discussion and a second conference is scheduled.

Pacifism in the Roman Catholic Church

The IFOR for many years has been working with Roman Catholics in Europe. Two well-known priests were members of our Council, one of whom was executed by Hitler, the other deported from territory taken over by Poland. Our Austrian Secretary, Kaspar Mayr, publishes a monthly magazine designed for Roman Catholic readers. Four conferences of Roman Catholics organized by IFOR have been held in recent years. Our youngest traveling secretary, Hildegard Mayr, is a Roman Catholic. Reconciliation across all barriers is our objective.

Training Centers

The establishment of *conference and training centers of reconciliation in areas of conflict* is another phase of our work. The most significant ones, all built up by IFOR persons, are *Freundschaftsheim* in Germany, directed by Wilhelm Mensching; *Collège Cevenol* in France, founded by André Trocmé and Edouard Theis; *Christavashram* in India, founded and directed by Sri K. K. Chandy; and *Wilgespruit*

Fellowship Center in South Africa, founded by the Rev. A. W. Blaxall. Today they are all financed apart from the IFOR budget and are independently run.

On the other hand, *La Maison de la Réconciliation* in Versailles, France, founded and managed by André and Magda Trocmé, which is also the Continental office of IFOR, is financed by the IFOR budget, although expenses of the *Maison* are now largely met by the guests and parties entertained there and are reduced further by the devoted unpaid service of Mlle. Alice Reynier, who helps run the household.

Literature

Production and distribution of basic books, especially in languages other than English, is a crying need. "Great Books" of pacifism, such as Macgregor's *New Testament Basis of Pacifism,* Gregg's *Power of Nonviolence,* Heering's *Fall of Christianity* (original in Dutch) and Pierre Lorson's *Un Chrétien: peut-il être Objecteur de Conscience?,* have been translated into German. In French there is, besides Lorson's book, *La Guerre et l'Evangile* by Jean Lasserre; *Je ne Tuerai pas* by Jacques Lejune; and *Refus de la Guerre* by Daniel Parker. In Spanish we have besides the two books of Macgregor and Gregg, Aldous Huxley's *Science, Liberty and Peace,* E. Stanley Jones' *Mahatma Gandhi,* Muriel Lester's *Signature of Gandhi,* Allan Hunter's *White Corpuscles in Europe,* Earl Smith's *Este Sentir* and *Guardado en su Corazon,* Juan Nazzari's *Breviaro de Paz* and Henri Roser's *El Christiano ante la Guerra.* The FOR has published in Japanese Macgregor's *New Testament Basis of Pacifism,* Leyton Richards' *Christian Pacifism After Two World Wars* and *Life of Theodore Walser.* The national Fellowships and the IFOR are publishing 14 FOR magazines in ten languages.

Pilot Projects

The foregoing work is only possible because of the large amount of devoted and sometimes heroic voluntary service, and part-time service, donated to the IFOR—jobs which our budget could not begin to cover. This may be admissible for exploratory pilot projects but it is not the right policy for measuring up to the responsibilities for peacemaking which the need of the world and the call of God lay upon us.

We have, I believe, in the past 37 years, amid the turmoil of world war and its aftermath, proved trustworthy in the administration of assignments committed to us. We should be able to do much more if we could engage a larger number of full-time personnel for specific projects and if we could meet the added expense of overhead administration. It cannot be expected that competent persons who have families to support can indefinitely put their best into work which pays only half-time or quarter-time salaries or engages them for very short periods.

If we have demonstrated in pilot projects the practical and potential possibilities of expanded work along some of the above lines, we must appeal to new donors for the reinforcement of adequate contributions. A *risk* investment, it is true, but a risk in the noble business of waging peace by "the art and practice of turning enemies into friends."

FOR National Council Acts To Narrow Budget Gap

Faced with the need to strengthen a depleted national staff while bridging a potential gap of $32,000 between budget income and expense, the National Council of the FOR last month carried on its longest and best-attended meetings in years. The sessions, which usually begin Thursday evening and end Friday evening, lasted this year from Thursday morning through Saturday afternoon. Every region in the country was represented in both the official Council meetings and in the unofficial open discussion that took place Thursday morning and afternoon.

Most of Thursday and Friday was devoted to discussion of the report prepared by the Policy Committee that was appointed at the April meetings of the National Council. Final action on the report came after amended recommendations had been brought in Friday afternoon by a subcommittee that had withdrawn to summarize the results of the discussion. Highlights of the final action were:

• The Council agreed with the Policy Committee's concerns for strengthening the sense of fellowship within the organization, and endorsed the proposal that a new study should be made of "some of the fundamentals upon which all policy and program must rest": deepening the spiritual life of the movement, search for the "growing edge" of pacifism, and exploration of basic issues and projects.

• The Council approved the recommendation that the regional structure be continued, with expansion into unorganized areas and with attempts to enlist greater membership participation.

• The Council adopted the Policy Committee's recommendations for strengthening the national office without significant change. This calls for the addition of one member to the national executive staff, and also a youth secretary, a membership secretary who would also serve as office manager, and an added stenographer.

• The Council rejected the Policy Committee's recommendations on field work, which called for the replacement of most regional offices by field workers on one- or two-year assignments. Instead, it voted to: a) consult with all regions with a view to closing offices; b) discontinue office help for regional secretaries; c) discontinue an employed staff for the New York region; d) operate with only one regional secretary on the West Coast; e) retain all other regional staff posts on the same basis as at present, but with staff members working out of their homes.

These measures accounted for about $20,000 of the $32,000 gap. The Council also voted that a com-

mittee be appointed to study improvements in methods of financing the work of the FOR.

A recommendation of the Finance and Personnel committees was accepted for the closing of regional offices by February 28 or before, with staff members receiving the full benefits of previously established policy with respect to notice, severance pay and vacation allowance.

Week-Long MIA Meet Features Smiley, Others

In Montgomery, Ala., last month, the Montgomery Improvement Association marked the close of the first year of its existence with a program of seminars, luncheons and banquets linked by the theme of "Freedom and Dignity Through Love."

A leading participant in the events was Glenn Smiley, FOR National Field Secretary, who served as moderator in a public forum on "Nonviolence in Social Change" held on December 4. For the following four evenings, Smiley shared in a seminar on "Nonviolence and the Social Gospel." The overall seminar was divided into two sections: "Nonviolence in Social Change," conducted by Glenn Smiley; and "Social Aspects of the Christian Gospel." conducted by Dr. H. V. Richardson, President of Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.

Other highlights of the MIA institute program were "An Analysis of Race Relations in America" by Carl T. Rowan, ace reporter of the Minneapolis *Tribune;* and addresses by Dr. Homer A. Jack, FOR member and well-known Unitarian minister, and Dr. J. H. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

On the eve of the institute, Smiley called on white ministers in Montgomery to invite them to the sessions, and at last report had succeeded in getting some of them to attend. One of them, the Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher of the Church of the Ascension (Episcopal), issued a public statement calling upon white people in Montgomery to "accept this thing as becomes citizens and Christians."

Among other heartening signs emanating from the white community were a statement by the Montgomery police chief that he is primarily interested in maintaining law and order, and will obey the law of the land; an announcement by the local head of the bus company that he is preparing his drivers for integrated service; and a Ku Klux Klan parade which was supposed to include from 5 to 10 thousand participants from all over the South, but which was able to bring out only about 350.

Reporting the Klan parade, the Montgomery *Advertiser* described them as "nightshirted oafs"—a far cry from the magnolia buncombe of recent memory. A homely incident gives point to the attitude of most white Montgomerians. Seeing a robed Klansman passing out leaflets on the street, a small boy queried his mother: "Mom, are they Americans?" The mother replied: "No one could be a good American and act like these men are acting," and bystanders laughed in agreement.

Although Robert Graetz, the lone white minister who has supported the MIA throughout its existence, has received an increased number of threats recently, the nonviolent campaign of Martin

Luther King and his associates seems generally to be bearing fruit in a mood of acquiescence by the white community.

M. L. King Chosen For NRLF Award

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, is one of three recipients of the 1956 Social Justice Awards of the National Religion & Labor Foundation. Others receiving the award were the Rev. John La Farge, S.J., and Senator Herbert H. Lehman (D) of New York. "All three have made highly significant contributions in the fight for racial equality," an NRLF statement said.

The awards, instituted in 1948, have been won in past years by such persons as Fiorello La Guardia, Eleanor Roosevelt, Thurgood Marshall, and most recently George Meany and Walter Reuther of the AFL-CIO.

Koinonia Farm Under Economic Attack

On November 27, the roadside produce market of interracial Koinonia Farm, Americus, Georgia, was blasted with buckshot, causing about $300 worth of damage. Law enforcement officers said they had little hope of finding out who did the shooting. An earlier attack, on July 23, remains unsolved (see "News," FELLOWSHIP, Sept. 1956), and in the light of other recent developments it seems unlikely that the local police are very much concerned to apprehend perpetrators of crimes against Koinonia.

There was even worse, if less dramatic, news a week before the shooting. The Citizens Bank of Americus cut off credit for Koinonia, even though the bank president himself acknowledged that the farm had a "perfect record" in its business dealings.

Shortly after this, the head of the local gas company refused to sell Koinonia any more butane gas. He conceded that he was morally wrong in this action, and confessed that it made him feel like Pontius Pilate, but would not reconsider. Both he and the bank president are members of the Methodist Church.

At this writing, the prospects for Koinonia are very grim. Deprived of operating capital, cut off from a vital fuel supply at the onset of cold weather, and virtually sealed off from local markets, this island of racial equality and Christian brotherhood in the Deep South may well be squeezed out of existence by the time these words appear in print.

The nearly sixty communitarians of Koinonia, however, have shown no bitterness amid their dire distress. "We are struggling," says their Newsletter, "to commit ourselves more perfectly to the Way of The Christ. We are expendable. We shall remain here so long as He needs us and gives us the strength to do His Will."

AFSC Boosts Magyar Refugee Aid Goal

In Philadelphia, the American Friends Service Committee announced on November 26 that it has increased its Hungarian relief fund goal to $100,000 to meet the needs of "an uncountable number of refugees flooding into Austria." The Committee also said that 13

persons have been added to the AFSC staff of six in Vienna to handle emergency relief work.

The project, organized as soon as the first Magyar refugees began coming over the Austrian border, distributes food and clothing and supplies emergency personal items not usually included in other American relief shipments.

The AFSC staff is assisted in this vital work by a group of about 37 volunteers, including Mrs. Llewellyn Thompson, wife of the American Ambassador.

CO's Hollywood Earnings Aid Refugees in Naples

Don Murray, a young Broadway and TV actor who served as a CO in the European refugee assistance program of the Church of the Brethren before making his movie debut, is returning to Naples to direct and finance a special refugee program there.

Murray began his Hollywood career by costarring with Marilyn Monroe in the film version of *Bus Stop.*

Personnel for the Naples project will be drawn from Brethren volunteers already in Europe. Murray will be assisted by his wife, Hope Lange, who has also appeared in recent films.

British FOR Scores Military Move in Egypt

The British Fellowship of Reconciliation took the occasion of its government's military intervention in the Suez crisis to reaffirm "its belief that the method of war is inconsistent with the teaching and spirit of Christ."

In a statement issued November 2, the British FOR said: "We believe . . . that our government's military action in Egypt . . . aggravates the very situation which it professes to alleviate . . . and must weaken Britain's moral standing and influence in the world."

The statement singled out "our failure to meet the need of an impoverished people" as a major factor underlying Middle East tensions.

ACOA Petition Protests South Africa Racist Law

By last month, some 2,000 signatures had been obtained for a petition by the American Committee on Africa, protesting white supremacist policies of the Union of South Africa. The petition, addressed to the American delegate to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, charges that South African *apartheid* laws are "a substantive and moral violation" of the UN Charter and calls upon Lodge "to invoke the prestige of your high office by taking vigorous action to protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the non-white peoples of South Africa."

According to ACOA Secretary George Houser, who is also a member of the FOR National Executive Committee, the petition will continue to be circulated until the right opportunity arises to present it to Mr. Lodge.

Meanwhile, in South Africa last month, in a move reminiscent of Nazi and Stalinist practices, political police swooped down on 140 citizens in the pre-dawn hours and arrested them on charges of treason under the Suppression of Communism Act. Among those whose

homes were raided was the Rev. Trevor Huddleston, and African National Congress leader Z. K. Matthews was held without bail.

Niemoeller Honored At NYU, Huron

Dr. Martin Niemoeller, leading German FOR member and president of the Evangelical Church of Hesse-Nassau, was presented with the University Medal in informal ceremonies last month at New York University. Cited for his contribution to religious freedom during the Nazi years, Dr. Niemoeller is the third person to be awarded the medal. Previous recipients were Robert Frost and Sir Ifor Evans.

Two days earlier, on December 4, Dr. Niemoeller was given an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity at Huron College, London, Ontario.

The academic honors came as part of a five-week lecture tour of the United States and Canada which Dr. Niemoeller made, sponsored by the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches.

Suez, Hungary Remind Japan FOR of Manchuria

"The tragedy in the Near East and in Central Europe reminds us of the situation that developed in the Far East only a quarter of a century ago when Japanese troops invaded Manchuria." These words are from the November 20 statement issued by the Japanese FOR on "the tragedies in Hungary and around Suez."

The statment goes on to warn that these events, like the invasion of Manchuria and similar aggressions, could lead to another world conflagration.

The Japanese FOR points out that "the United Nations will remain ineffective . . . so long as the various powers belonging to it maintain their own armaments, enabling the Major Powers to engage in violence and aggression which the world organization . . . cannot restrain."

The statement, issued over the signatures of Chairman Iwao Ayusawa and Executive Secretary Paul M. Sekiya, urged a revision of the UN Charter which would call for a world police force, "not in addition to, but instead of" the armed forces of member nations.

Children's Stamp Promotes Friendship

"Friendship—The Key to World Peace" is the motto atop a new U.S. postage stamp issued last month. Pictured on the stamp is a group of children representing the races and nations of the world—probably the first such interracial group depicted on a U.S. stamp.

ARE YOU AN EDITOR?

You may be just the person FELLOWSHIP is looking for to fill the position of assistant editor. Salary is modest but psychic rewards compensate. Position will be open on March 1. Applicant must be of professional caliber, pacifist convictions, able to relocate or commute to Nyack, N. Y. Write: Box E, FELLOWSHIP, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y. before Jan. 18; *new address*, Nyack, N. Y., after that date.

No Moral Basis For War, Says World Council Official

"In this atomic age there is no lesser evil and there is no moral justification of war to meet any end." These words were spoken, not by a pacifist, but by Dr. Elfan Rees, adviser on refugee affairs to the World Council of Churches.

Speaking at a Reformation rally in Kansas City, Mo., on November 5, Dr. Rees added: "If ever there was a time a Christian witness was needed in international affairs it is this very moment." Dr. Rees noted that both the UN and the World Council of Churches were observing their tenth anniversaries. He cited "prevention of war" as the first of four main objectives held in common by both organizations.

Roman Catholic Bishops Ask "International Sanity"

In a strongly worded statement, the annual meeting of Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops in Washington, D. C., on November 18, urged its communicants to pledge themselves to "a veritable crusade of prayer" for peace and urged UN intervention in the Middle East "to silence the guns of war and to enforce the pacific arbitration of conflicting claims."

Every effort should be made, the statement said, "to avoid the final arbitrament of nuclear war." It warned that such a war would be "a nightmare of unimaginable horrors [which] can only annihilate; it has no power to solve our problems."

United Lutherans Approve Desegregation Training Plan

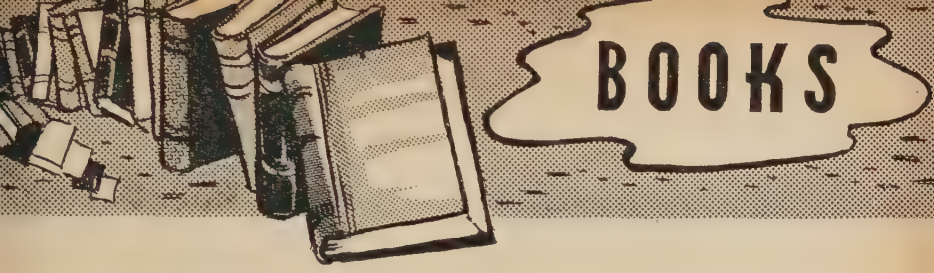
The Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America has approved a plan to train 100 pastors and laymen to conduct education and action programs to promote the "peaceful achievement of desegregation."

The plan is designed to implement the Church's Statement on Human Relations, which stated that "segregation impedes Christian brotherhood" and called for the denomination to become an "inclusive fellowship." This Statement was promulgated by the same convention that withheld endorsement of the Supreme Court ban on segregation (see "In the Churches," December FELLOWSHIP).

Episcopal Bishops Link U.S. Racism, Foreign Crises

In a pastoral letter dated November 16, the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church urged its communicants to remember that "our own racial divisions and misunderstandings at home are part of the same sad story of division which we see on the international scene."

The letter also called for generous gifts to alleviate "the enormous suffering of the brave Hungarian people" and urged "fullest support to the United Nations" in the present world crisis.



Peace Know-How

Towards a Science of Peace by Theo. F. Lentz. Bookman Associates. 1955. 194 pp. $3.

If the scientific method could be applied to peace research with a breadth and intensity comparable to the research that went into production of the atomic bomb, the hope of emancipation from bombs and war would be immeasurably set forward.

Towards a Science of Peace is written with a view to arousing intelligent people to action along this line, but action that will not be too little and too late. The book is warmly commended by Julian Huxley, M. F. Ashley Montagu, Norman Cousins and a recent president of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Dr. Huxley, who writes the foreword, says of Professor Lentz: "His emphasis on the human sciences and the need of exploring their possibilities with a view to discovering better methods of social and economic cooperation and greater human fulfillment is basic, and his passages on this subject should be read and pondered by all who look forward to the establishment of One World on a constructive and peaceful basis."

Dr. Lentz, a former Associate Professor of Education at Washington University and now Director of the Attitude Research Laboratory in St. Louis, summarizes the thesis of his book in "the twofold statement that mankind does not now possess the knowledge necessary for speedy and deliberate elimination of the unbearable curse of war, but that a redirection of our intellectual resources might quickly produce this knowledge." He holds that social organization as it exists today is misorganization since even its cooperative aspects within nations have become, under the stress of war and preparation for war, cooperation for *antagonism* between nations. "We misorganize when we organize to antagonize one another."

Likewise, the gifts of science have come to us in the wrong order, *i.e.*, power to destroy ahead of power to create harmony. "We have sought out the mysteries of atoms. We have ignored or trifled with the mystery of attitudes."

Prof. Lentz is surely right when he pleads that scientists of the future should not be so unconcerned with the results of their research as has often been the case in the past. Curiosity or personal fame or pay from big industry and war-minded governments are not the only motivations possible to science. "The crisis in our culture calls for faith in the merging of curiosity with compassion—of love of truth with love of man." This, of course, happened in the case of

Pasteur and much of medical science.

The dangerously delayed potential gifts of science for world peace depend on applied research directed to this specific goal of peace. There are ideological blockades in the way but the most immediate and serious blockade is financial. Research for peace know-how requires the full-time paid work of a considerable body of men and women trained in the scientific method plus a larger number of lay assistants—investigators, secretaries, typists, etc. At present, the bread and butter of a huge aggregation of scientists and their assistants is paid for by governments which harness scientific labor to the task of producing ever more deadly instruments of war. No big money is being devoted to science geared to peace, to the science of human relations. Our educational institutions and churches are largely failing in employing scientists for this task. Prof. Lentz's book sets forth the problem with great cogency, conciseness and in a style so clear that he who runs can read. This is its greatest merit.

Those of us who have worked for peace in other ways understand well the financial barrier. We may be dismayed by the size of the budget for peace science that Dr. Lentz outlines and fear that there is small chance of its being secured in time to avert catastrophe. Yet miracles—even scientific ones—are accomplished by the courage, sacrifice and faith of devoted minorities. If there could be a few sample demonstrations of peace research successfully applied, the financial log jam might be loosened. It is good to know that besides Prof. Sorokin's Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism there is also Dr. Lentz's Attitude Research Laboratory at 946 Goodfellow Blvd., St. Louis.

Dr. Lentz is casting his net for personal contributions, as well as institutional ones—into the wide sea of human desire for peace. It is on a different side of the ship from where the FOR has been fishing. May his net come up full.

—John Nevin Sayre

A Jumble of Jargon

Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology by Pitirim A. Sorokin. Henry Regnery. 1956. 349 pp. $10.

Professor Sorokin has set himself the task of exposing "the nonscientific and half-scientific elements in modern sociology and related disciplines." In doing so, he examines a formidable array of shortcomings. These include: the use of "obtuse jargon and half-scientific slang," excessive operationalism, large-scale and indiscriminate testing ("testomania"), premature quantification, the uncritical acceptance by some sociologists of the theoretical designs of physicists, "the wonderland of social atoms and small groups," and the notion that predictability is the ultimate and only justifiable end of all scientific research.

The tone of *Fads and Foibles* is one of righteous indignation, if not of anger. The indignation is all too often justified, as in the chapter titled, "Amnesia and the New Columbuses." Here Sorokin has amassed a large number of examples of contemporary sociologists who have claimed as "discoveries" concepts and hypotheses developed centuries and even mil-

lenia ago. Some of our latter-day sociologists show an unbecoming innocence of the works of such relatively recent writers as John Dewey, C. Cooley, and Max Weber. In fact, Sorokin cites instances in which his own former graduate students and former junior colleagues have presented "original contributions" which bear a striking resemblance to, and even identity with, their mentor's earlier writings—without any acknowledgement of their indebtedness.

The work under review provides a much-needed antidote to the tendency in present-day sociology toward quantification merely for the sake of quantification. Many of the other criticisms must be well-taken as much-needed correctives for misguided enthusiasms and sloppy thinking. The salutary effect of this corrective is severely blunted by Sorokin's relentlessness in making his point.

In the preface, one reads that the author "must humbly confess that he himself is also one of these 'sinners'! He also has been guilty of committing the blunders exposed in his book. . . . It is hoped that this confession may attenuate somewhat the irritation of all the 'sinners' concerned. . . ." In the context of the rest of the book, the above "confession" seems to be largely ritualistic and the praise heaped upon criticized colleagues is faint indeed. While his criticisms of fellow workers in the psychosocial sciences are as explicit as they are astringent, the author's self-criticism is almost exclusively to be found in the paragraph from which the above passage was quoted. One cannot believe that this is because Sorokin considers himself among the mediocrities who are beneath consideration. On the contrary, the vast majority of authoritative quotations and referances used to document various criticisms are to the works of P. Sorokin.

The erudition, deep social concern and preoccupation of Professor Sorokin with the truly important questions of our day are surpassed only by his ability as a critic and builder of sociological theory. For all of these qualities he has this reviewer's admiration. In this volume, however, the tone is so angry, the criticisms so carping and the indictments so sweeping that the effectiveness of the argument is weakened.

—Charles R. Lawrence, Jr.

Justice on the Rocks

The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by John Wexley. Cameron and Kahn. 1955. 672 pp. $6.

It was not easy to begin reading such a long book about two people who, I assumed, were guilty and whose case was now closed. For one thing, from talking with one of the lawyers who had become involved in a court appeal for the Rosenbergs, I had formed an impression that some of those supporting the Rosenbergs welcomed the opportunity to have them martyred.

But whatever the motives of the Communists in publicizing this case, John Wexley's book raises an issue of justice which no liberty-loving American can ignore.

Wexley's facts clearly indicate that the Rosenbergs and a scientist, Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year sentence, were the victims of a political frame-up greater than that of Sacco and Vanzetti.

One reputable reviewer, Brett Halliday, wrote after reading this book, "Either: the facts presented are untrue, and/or the author's interpretation of those facts is incorrect;

"Or: the facts are true and the author's interpretation is correct. If the first conclusion is the right one, it seems to me that J. Edgar Hoover, Irving Kaufman, Irving Saypol and Roy Cohn (to say nothing of a host of underlings) should immediately start suit against the author and his publishers for malicious and vicious libel.

"If the second conclusion is correct, it seems to me that J. Edgar Hoover, Irving Kaufman, Irving Saypol, Roy Cohn, *et al* should be indicted and tried for conspiring to murder the Rosenbergs."

So far as I know, none of those named above has protested Mr. Wexley's story.

Beginning with the Fuchs case in England and quoting from J. Edgar Hoover, Wexley demonstrates that there was no basis in fact—except in Gold's confession —for a tie-up of Fuchs with Gold or Rosenberg. On this, however, the prosecution built much of its case. Wexley adds: "No one on the Rosenberg jury could dream that Gold's role as a Soviet spy might be a self-assumed one."

In another trial, that of Abraham Brothman, Judge Irving Kaufman, who also presided at the Rosenberg case and hence knew Gold's unreliability, said to Brothman's attorney, "The witness [Gold] said he concocted these things from beginning to end. Are you going to take each and every detail he concocted?"

Wexley also asserts after a careful discussion of the evidence: "The record shows that outside of David's testimony (supported only by Ruth) there existed not a single scrap of evidence against [Ethel Rosenberg]." David Greenglass (and his wife, Ruth), according to Wexley, had personal reasons for his testimony against his sister, Ethel Greenglass Rosenberg.

The Court of Appeals said of the Greenglass testimonies: "Doubtless if that testimony were disregarded, the convictions could not stand."

"Hence," adds Wexley, "it was simply the word of two people declaring that two other people were spies, and testifying to certain conspiratorial conversations, which no other person had ever heard or witnessed. Throughout the entire trial, as we shall see, no substantiation of the Greenglass testimony . . . was ever produced by the Government."

The Columbia Law Review, in summarizing the Rosenberg case, said: "Surely it is striking to note that had the Rosenbergs been tried across the street in a New York State court where corroboration is required, a conviction would have been unlikely on this record."

The author discusses in detail the techniques of the government in trying to build its case, including efforts to get the "cooperation" of witnesses. For example, contrary to normal procedure, Gold, after having been arrested and held in Philadelphia, was transferred to "The Tombs," a New York City prison, rather than a Federal prison. Greenglass, also a Federal prisoner, was taken after a month in Federal prison in New York to the same city prison where, within a period of forty-eight hours, both were lodged on the eleventh floor of "The Tombs."

They were there together for months prior to the trial where Gold was cooperating with the FBI and was, according to Wexley, "going about the prodigious task of coaching the slow-witted Greenglass—who as a high school student had failed all eight of his eight courses in elementary science." Greenglass was alleged to have made sketches of scientific data which were passed on to the Rosenbergs.

Wexley, in discussing the Sobell case, indicates that the only testimony implicating him had come from Elitcher and had not included any evidence of atomic espionage. In addition to the court records, Wexley's source material included memoranda from the confidential files of O. John Rogge, attorney for both Elitcher and Greenglass. These memoranda showed that both witnesses cooperated with the government through motives of fear of prosecution for unrelated crimes they had committed. Greenglass stole uranium "souvenirs" from Los Alamos; Elitcher had sworn falsely on a loyalty oath while a government employee.

The book is exceptionally well documented. As such and in the absence of documentations that would discredit it, it is a sad commentary on Federal justice, including the FBI, Federal Prosecutors and the Federal Courts. Even the Supreme Court made its rulings on the case without ever even reviewing the trial record.

The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg should be read widely not only because it is a skillful and fascinating story, but so that Americans who pride themselves on "liberty and justice for all" may learn a lesson for the future. —JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

War and Due Process

The Virginia Exiles by Elizabeth Gray Vining. Lippincott. 1955. 317 pp. $3.95.

Windows for the Crown Prince won its author an appreciative public. Mrs. Vining's present novel performs a real service in furnishing evidence, this time out of our far-back American past, that war and civil rights do not exist together. Research in musty old libraries, together with delving into family papers and letters, must have preceded this finely rounded account of an episode of the Revolutionary War that reminds all too vividly of our own times.

Matters are going badly with Washington's armies; Howe is about to occupy Philadelphia. A group of Quakers from highly respected Philadelphia families, whose offense is their known anti-war testimony and now their refusal to take an oath to clear themselves of suspected pro-British sentiment, are arrested without process of law. Held without charge, forced to supply their own transportation, food and necessities, they are summarily exiled from homes and families to adjoining Virginia. Here they spend a number of months, sometimes in hostile communities.

Appeals to national and state authorities for release, or at least trial, are in vain. At length the affair peters out. The exiles are allowed to go home. But there has been suffering, mental and physical, and one death, that of wise and lovable old John Hunt, the author's best-realized character, who has done most to sustain his companions.

Caleb Middleton, youngest of the group, substituting for his father,

an iron-master who has closed down his blast-furnace rather than supply the Continental forces, is Mrs. Vining's hero, and a pretty, if conventional little romance with a dainty Quaker maid who has aided the prisoners, threads the narrative attractively. One feels, however, that Mrs. Vining's gift here reveals itself less in characterization than in poetic evocation of a countryside lovely in changing seasons, while a nice historical sense recreates for us an early America in its culture, its industries, and the life that goes on in homes, on farms and in roadside taverns. A serious and worthwhile book.

—Frances Witherspoon

World Without End. A Unesco Film. Distributed by Brandon Films, New York. 16 mm., black and white, sound. 50 min. Rental: $7.50.

The appalling waste of war and preparations for war is never more apparent than when one sees, as in *World Without End,* how much *can* be done with relatively little effort and expense to relieve suffering and want.

This is an unpretentious film that sometimes moves a little too jerkily in its shifts back and forth between Mexico and Thailand, on which it concentrates for its story. It more than compensates for such lapses, however, by its content and by the sometimes breathtaking beauty of its photography.

The story is simple: a Unesco-sponsored team goes into an area in each of the two countries where lack of modern scientific knowledge of materials has caused great hardships of one sort or another. In Thailand the team performs what must surely have appeared to the Siamese villagers as great miracles by curing, with swift-working penicillin, the "incurable" yaws that had perplexed and tortured them. In Mexico they dealt with a lake whose receding waters and decreasing supply of fish spelled economic catastrophe to some islanders there. After that, without ostentation, the team members go off to other countries and other problems, demonstrating to an uninterested world what possibilities do exist for dealing with human misery.

World Without End doesn't bother with obvious moralizing, but it is surely worth noting in a review that UNESCO's entire annual budget wouldn't pay for a single jet bomber!

Four Filmstrips

All four of these filmstrips were produced by the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches, 220 Fifth Avenue, New York City. All are 35mm., with accompanying sound on long-playing (33⅓ rpm) records. The first three were produced for Church World Service; the fourth for CWS and United Church Women.

A Matter of Fact. Color cartoons. 79 frames. 16 minutes. This is the most elaborate, and also, I think, the most effective of four very effective filmstrips. Using cartoon characters, the strip points up the graphic contrast between this country's enormous surpluses of food

and the world's great need. Along with this, it gets down to the specifics of how part of these conscience-disturbing surpluses can be shared, and how much such sharing could accomplish.

On the Move. Black-and-white photos. 84 frames. 15 minutes. This, too, is a moving contrast between the comfort in which most Americans live and the desperation and hopelessness of refugees, particularly in the Middle East.

The Year that Flowered. Black-and-white photos. 83 frames. 18 minutes. A fine job of recounting the work of Church World Service in the housing of refugees in Hong Kong. This project was launched by the Rev. Elmer W. Galt, a long-time member of the FOR.

The Waiting Ones. Black-and-white photos. 81 frames. 15 minutes. The story of the "stateless" refugees who languish in camps or hide in cellars around the world, without the right to seek sanctuary anywhere. Includes a plea for American "sponsors", who can help to bring such people to these countries under the Refugee Immigration Act, which expires this year.

It is no deprecation of either the filmstrips or the work they promote to add that they bring evidence also that the dimensions of the work that needs to be done in raising the standard of living around the world surpass the capacity of church and other private groups to handle. It is good that Christians "share their surplus" with a fraction of the hungry millions of the world, but there will be no peace until the problem of surpluses disappears within the framework of a world that produces for men's needs rather than for a minority's profit. —A. H.

WANTED

PEACE-MINDED PERSONS

who are ready to act immediately

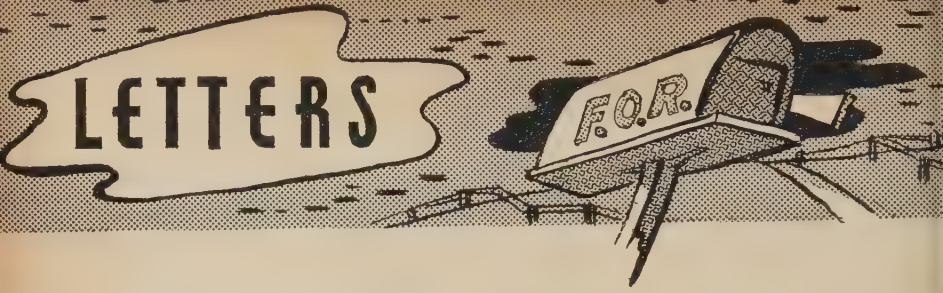
TO JOIN A LIMITED ENROLMENT GROUP FOR AN INFORMAL COURSE EQUIVALENT TO A POST-GRADUATE EDUCATION IN PEACEMAKING!

Most FOR members and friends have already done the "background reading." YOU have read these spiritual masterpieces—Philippe Vernier's "With the Master," and "Meditations of a Pastor in Occupied France," and André Trocmé's forthright "Politics of Repentance," Milton Mayer's story of Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, "Christ at Bueckeburg," Kirby Page's "The Sword and the Cross," "Living Creatively," "Living Prayerfully," etc., and Muriel Lester's deep but simple "Ways of Praying," "Training for Peace." You've got a glimpse of dynamic peacemaking at its best in the new Fellowship Films' presentation of Pastors Martin Niemoller and André Trocmé.

This is our **third and final** announcement in **Fellowship** of the wonderful opportunity which Kirby Page calls "a period of Spiritual Graduate Study." For a cost so low you never dreamed it possible, you can go on the 2nd Annual Peace Tour to Europe by air, under leadership of Kirby Page and Bill Hammond, if you act PROMPTLY!

For 30 inspiring days, Kirby Page, the European leaders mentioned and a host of other outstanding peacemakers will step out of the pages of books and the movie screen to join you in living personality, for informal discussions, interviews, and living together in three principal international seminar periods at Berlin, Freundschaftsheim, and Paris (Mill of Peace). Contacts with nonpacifists; also optional Russia Tour. YOU **CAN** AFFORD TO GO because of rock-bottom inclusive prices and the airlines' GO NOW—PAY LATER PLAN (only $200 down, $30 month for tour). Identical programs begin June 1, July 10. WRITE TODAY:

Rev. W. M. Hammond
Baptist Peace Fellowship
303 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 16, N. Y.



Friend or Foe at 50,000 Feet

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I congratulate you on your folder "How to Hide from an H-Bomb." It ought to prove useful—if you can get it into the hands of the indifferent majority who love Cadillacs above life.

I have written to Val Peterson asking him to tell me how I could tell when a plane flying 50,000 feet in the air is an enemy plane. I won't join the Ground Observer Corps until I know how I can tell a friendly from a hostile plane. I might give a false alarm. No answer yet.

—FYKE FARMER
Nashville, Tenn.

No Shortcut to the Good

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The Polish and Hungarian revolts against Soviet Communism demonstrate that it is impossible to build a classless society under the tutelage of an elite and all-knowing class who high-handedly impose their will on the great mass of the people. The leadership principle applied to socialism is as obnoxious as that practiced by fascism. Leadership *is* class.

Public ownership and operation of the means of production for the public welfare is a great idea, but the individual must remain free. Support of the common enterprise must be voluntary and by attraction, not compulsory. The system must arise from the desire of the people and must not be imposed by a bunch of arrogant and militant smart-alecks.

No system is any good unless there is freedom for the dissenter to dissent and plenty of room for him to carry out his independent ideas outside the system.

No individual, no committee, no minority, and not even the majority, can decide what is right and force humanity to conform to the official view. Too often in human history everybody has been wrong until some lone individual blazed a new trail and set a new course which all mankind later followed.

The erroneous means of Communism has cost humanity millions of lives. Rule by force is slavery, and the revulsion of the people to men who have the arrogance to rule by force will not die until force itself is cast aside as the barbarous method of the primitive past.

Force is evil in itself, and enforced good is almost as bad as enforced evil. In fact, enforced good *is* evil.

Revolt in the Communist world is real and can no longer be concealed. Communism, founded on bloodshed, defends itself by bloodshed. This must come as quite a shock to those who harbored the hope that utopia could be ushered in by force and violence.

For the left, the present revolts in Poland and Hungary are object lesson number one, for these revolts are by people who have experienced Communist rule.

The good world can never be built by evil means.

—VERNON WARD
Belhaven, N. C.

More on "Anatomy"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have just finished reading "The Anatomy of a Smear" from cover to cover. It is coping with blackness, but the clear thinking, generosity, constructiveness, freedom from petty hurts and jibes let me know that there is relief in the blackness of the States. I am grateful for the volume of research and succinct organizing and writing that went into this study. Congratulations to you for a job that is well done.

—ROBERT STEELE
London, England

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Congratulations to the Fellowship of Reconciliation and to Mr. Hassler for the fine presentation of facts in "The Anatomy of a Smear." Although I had not been aware that the Investigating Committee on Education of the California Senate had so extensively smeared the FOR in particular, I was most gratified to have had the opportunity to read the article and to compare the integrity of the composition of the article as put forth by Mrs. Hassler—and the contrasting contents of the quotations taken from the Investigating Committees document.

—DEAN SMITH,
Prairie Village, Kansas

Mandate for Ministers

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Having recently seen "Children of the A-Bomb" I believe it almost mandatory for every honest Christian minister to show this 90-minute film to every member of his congregation without fear of incrimination by the powers that be or those lurking around the corner.

It is about time, . . . with the H-bomb threat a thousand times worse than Hiroshima, that our tortured world may at last devote itself undisturbedly and with love to the great task of building the brotherhood of man for which thinking mankind has been waiting thousands of years.

Or must we perhaps forever pronounce the full truth in dark cellars of a spiritual underground away from the feared tread of evil men?

When may our indefatigable men or women and their offspring at last breathe the pure air that Creation has given us without fearing extinction of the human race at some given point or the stifling presence of international militarism with its mushrooming clouds of war leading to the end of creation and procreation?

—FREDERICK E. KERN
St. Louis, Mo.

Source Books of Morality?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is unfortunate that Mr. Fowler's unenlightened distaste for Nobel Prize winner William Faulkner in your July issue was expressed almost skillfully. It would lead one to think that Mr. Fowler had made a careful study of Faulkner's works and purposes. Of course, he has not. This, I feel, is most tragic since I am sure Mr. Faulkner himself would agree in a large measure with some of the things Mr. Fowler concluded.

Great literature, Mr. Fowler, is not made to convince, to sway, to change the mind of the reader. It is to give man an image of himself, not to comment on that image, not to judge it. That William Faulkner chooses not to accompany his works with a moralistic essay is most fortunate, I believe. Few of us would take the time to read him, let alone consider what he is trying to do, I fear, if that was the case. His image remains pure only because he refuses to thump a philosophic tub for any point of view. He is not a propagandist, Mr. Fowler, he is an author—and, among other things, a moralist of exciting proportions. He, and

the few gifted writers like him who go beyond literary preaching in an effort to make modern man wrestle with moral problems minus a biased commentary, Christian or otherwise, might yet lead us to think for ourselves.

William Harrison
Nashville, Tennessee

Have Your Cake And Eat It, Too!

If you are a magazine subscriber and an FOR member or well-wisher, here is a way to get your magazines at the regular price—and increase your FOR contribution at the same time, **at no extra cost.** By ordering your magazines from Winchell Agencies, you pay the **same price** you would pay to the publisher—BUT the FOR benefits from special club commission rates of 5% to 20% of regular price.

Skeptical? Risk a postcard and find out. All popular magazines, business, professional, industrial trade journals included. Write:

Forrest Winchell
1106 Watervliet Avenue
Dayton 10, Ohio

ADVERTISEMENTS

HELP WANTED

KIRKRIDGE needs a couple in their forties or fifties to share in the maintenance and undergirding of this Protestant Retreat Center. Possibly someone leaving a farm, with practical skills, whose wife has housekeeping abilities and interests. The work is light and adjustable. An adequate salary and an attractive mountainside home are provided. References or introduction required. Write Joseph E. Platt, Kirkridge, Bangor, Penna.

AVAILABLE

OPPORTUNITY TO PUT beliefs into action. You can live your beliefs at either of these two integrated communities (majority white families) under Quaker leadership. CONCORD PARK—modern 3- and 4-bedroom ranch homes $12,690 up; old Lincoln Highway & Route 132, Trevose; one mile from Philadelphia interchange of Pa. Turnpike. GREENBELT KNOLL—contemporary hillside homes, 3 to 5 bedrooms; woodland setting with parks on four sides including 2 acre private park; paneled 27' living room, fireplace set in floor-to-ceiling glass wall; many other unusual features; from $19,950. On Holme Avenue 1 mile east of Roosevelt Boulevard and Pennypack Circle (in city limits). Trade-ins accepted. Models open daily and Sunday to 9 p.m. Phone ELmwood 7-4356 or write George E. Otto and Morris Milgram, builders, Trevose, Pa.

WANTED

FAMILIES who want to enjoy life in a successful integrated community in Philadelphia. See item under AVAILABLE, "Opportunity to put beliefs into action."

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Paul G. Macy, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.; *Southwest:* Wilson Riles, 1205 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.; *New York:* Kent Larrabee, 1133 Broadway (rm. 1601), N. Y. 10, N. Y.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.; *New England:* Robert Gussner, 9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.; *Mid-South:* Robert Cannon, 2123 Garland Ave. (Apt. 28), Nashville, Tenn. *National Field Secretary:* Glenn E. Smiley, 21 Audubon Avenue, N. Y. 32, N. Y.

Excuse Our Dust

If you've ever done spring housecleaning, you'll understand what things are like at Shadowcliff—maybe multiplied a little here and there to allow for the size of the FOR's new building, and the years of neglect in its upkeep.

The work has been going on for many weekends—scraping off old, peeled-up paint, replacing warped floorboards, cleaning leaves out of the eaves—and is expected to continue for many more weekends.

These chores are all being done by our own members and friends, at the lowest cash wages—namely, zero. But for young pacifists who don't mind limbering up and getting a whiff of good fresh Hudson River air, we offer the customary FOR rewards—an experience in sharing and fellowship.

Pack up your lunch and roll up your sleeves. Here's your golden opportunity to work up a sweat for peace. But before you head for Nyack, write or phone the FOR office and we'll tell you how to get there and what to bring.

Besides people, we need furniture in good condition, including 100 folding chairs, and a station wagon. Your contribution of any of these items will be a big help.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
Nyack, N. Y. • Phone LO 8-8200 in New York City

What Is An NMC?

Don't try to pronounce it—we'll spell it out for you. Membership in the Fellowship of Reconciliation implies, among other things, a total rejection of war and the spirit of war, and a commitment to the religious conviction that love, as taught by Jesus, is a necessary condition of pacifism and the way of nonviolence.

Some people who sympathize with the methods and purposes of the FOR do not feel that they can make this kind of commitment in good faith. They have reservations, sometimes only tentative, but sometimes deep-rooted.

The FOR welcomes the support of all men and women of good will and, although it regrets the fact that some people are unable to deem themselves eligible for membership, it offers to them the "next best thing"—NMC status.

NMC means Non-Member Contributor. An NMC is anyone who contributes money or volunteer work to the Fellowship, but who is not an FOR member and does not vote in the election of FOR leaders. NMCs have special status on the FOR mailing list and receive the same announcements that members do.

If you have held off from supporting the FOR because you are unable in good conscience to subscribe fully to the Statement of Purpose, we invite you to become an NMC. Please send contributions and inquiries to:

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
NYACK, NEW YORK